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The American Legion--
Tool Of Big Business
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ROOSEVELT 'FREEZES' BADOGLIO RULE

AFL Convention Paves Way For Miners Return

Ultra-Conservative Policy Revealed by Slavish Adherence to Roosevelt and Sidetracking of Fight On Jim Crow Practices

Virtual reinstatement of the United Mine Workers and a debate on Jim Crow union locals were the highlights of an otherwise perfunctory and spiritless annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, Oct. 4-14 in Boston.

Continuing their slavish adherence to the Roosevelt administration, the AFL leaders did not even give the delegates a realistic picture of the price-rises, wage-freezing and growth of reaction during the last year.

A message from Roosevelt, promising "success" in the "roll-back of prices," was read and accepted at face value. Wage-freezing was hardly even mentioned, except for a few whining complaints about the War Labor Board and a tearful warning by George W. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, that Economic Stabilization Director Vinson's veto of a wage raise was "turning the railroad workers against their leaders."

The growth of reaction was indicated in the report of Judge Joseph A. Padway, AFL counsel, who listed twelve state legislatures which during this year have enacted legislation "imperiling the life and activity" of trade unions. Padway also stigmatized the Smith-Connally Act but was careful not to mention Roosevelt's complicity in its passage.

GOVERNMENT PARADE

The sole significant indication that the AFL leadership was aware of the growth of resentment against Roosevelt among the workers came when the convention side-stepped discussion of a resolution praising Roosevelt's "domestic and foreign policies." It was referred to the Executive Council — that is, buried.

Characteristic of the subservience of the AFL leadership to the government was the parade, day in and day out, of government officials whose speeches consumed a major part of the convention proceedings.

Typical enough of the contempt which these government officials feel toward a labor leadership so lacking in backbone was the speech of Joseph D. Keenan, vice-chairman for labor production of the War Production Board. The day before he appeared, the convention had adopted a resolution "vigorously" opposing "incentive pay" — the new name for piecework. Nevertheless Keenan blandly announced that "incentive pay" would soon be introduced in the West Coast shipyards — which are mainly operating under AFL contracts.

JIM CROW

Another example of using the platform of a convention of labor to spit upon the workers was the speech of W. H. Atherton, head of the American Legion, who branded every striker as guilty of "treason." AFL President William Green "answered" him by adducing Roosevelt's praise because of the small number of strikes.

Indicative of the ultra-conservative character of the convention was the fact that of over 600 delegates — representatives of international unions, local central bodies and federal locals directly affiliated to the AFL — only eight were Negroes and 15 women.

The convention adopted a resolution condemning discrimination and pledging AFL support to opening the doors of all unions to Negroes. The resolution was in some ways an improvement over previous ones, but had no teeth in it.

A resolution condemning Jim Crow auxiliary locals — locals in which Negroes are segregated and which have no voting power in the international unions to which they belong — was introduced by the Sleeping Car Porters but was buried by being referred by the resolutions committee to a "post-war problems committee" for "further study."

Spokesmen for the Boilermakers and the Blacksmiths brazenly defended their use of Jim Crow auxiliary locals, in answer to the attack on them by A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters.

COAL MINERS

Randolph, replying to a formal disclaimer of discrimination by

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Kearny Ship Workers Strike To Protest Stalling Of WLB

By Miriam Carter

Tired of the runaround they have been getting from the War Labor Board and the company, the swing and night shifts of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., Kearny, New Jersey, members of Local 16, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, struck Thursday, October 14.

The spark that set off the strike was the firing of five committeemen by the company for organizing a demonstration against the appointment of John Dempsey as grievance committee chairman. Dempsey was appointed by Gavin Macpherson, the Green-appointed receiver-dictator of Local 16.

This incident, however, was only the straw that broke the camel's back. The contract which Local 16 had with Federal Shipbuilding expired last June 23. The new contract has not yet been approved by the WLB's shipbuilding commission. The main demand, a 9% wage increase, has been rejected by the WLB, with wage reclassification still hanging fire.

FOURTH STRIKE

Angered by the delay in reclassifying them to mechanics' rating the steel handlers went out on strike at the beginning of last week. **This was the fourth time they had gone out in the recent period.**

As soon as the men struck, the union bureaucracy, the company, and the government apparatus joined to break the strike and punish the strikers.

The Selective Service Board of Union County, reported that all Federal Shipbuilding employes registered with them had been put in 1-A. Those who did not strike, the draft board announced, would be put back into deferred classifications.

The WLB sent a telegram threatening to punish the union.

The union printed the WLB telegram and distributed it among the men. The union joined with the company and the WLB in demanding strict adherence to the no-strike pledge. The workers' grievances were scarcely mentioned.

TRAITOROUS OFFICIALS

Faced with the solid pressure of the union, the company and the government, with no clearcut demands formulated and without organized leadership the workers, for the most part, returned to their jobs. By Sunday only 600 men, mostly machinists and welders, were still out.

The problems of the Federal Shipbuilding workers, however, remain unsolved. The International Union, headed by President John Green, makes no attempt to solve them. The top bureaucrats spend their time stifling union democracy and holding the workers back from taking any action. Local 16 has been in receivership for months.

Experiences such as this Kearny strike will open the eyes of hundreds of shipyard workers to the true role of the WLB and the government agencies in general as well as the traitorous conduct of their own top union officials.

16,000 Strike At Cramp Shipyard

PHILA., Oct. 17. — Following an almost complete walkout yesterday of the 16,000 workers employed at the Cramp Shipbuilding yard, the general membership of Local 42 (IUMSWA) at an enthusiastic, overflow meeting voted for a showdown with the company.

The men will return to work for one week, and if the scores of unsettled grievances are not settled and provocations by the management do not cease, they will come out again.

The meeting, over 2500 attending, was ready for action. As a flock of speakers from government agencies and top union official Philip Van Gelder made promises of action and an investigation, they were politely heard. None of the speakers dared to blame the men for the situation.

Finally, the President of the Local, William Schaeffer, came forward.

Encouraged by shouts from the members to "get hot Schaeffer," he made the proposal for further action in a week.

Cannon, Goldman, Dunne to Speak at SWP Fifteenth Anniversary Banquet

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party has arranged for an Anniversary Banquet to be held on October 30th, 6:30 P. M. at Werdermann's Hall, 160 Third Avenue, to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement of the United States.

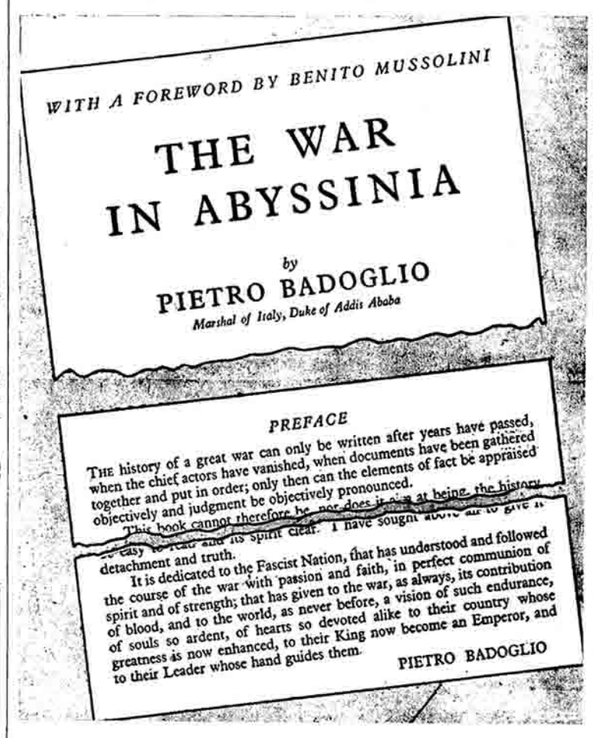
"We have travelled a long and tortuous road since the first issue of **The Militant** made its appearance on the streets of New York," said Rose Karsner, chairman of the arrangements committee. "There are many hurdles ahead for us. But none of us doubts that victory must be ours in the end. It is therefore fitting this October that we celebrate our accomplishments and discuss plans for the expansion of our work in the great days ahead."

Albert Goldman, whose record of service in the labor movement goes back many years, will officiate. James P. Cannon, founder of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, together with Vincent R. Dunne and others, will speak about the early days. Other speakers, representing later phases of the development of the movement, will give short addresses.

The banquet will adjourn early and the audience will be invited to continue the festivities at 116 University Place, where the admission will be free.

Banquet tickets, at $1.75 per plate, can be obtained at 116 University Place, N. Y.

A Page from Badoglio's Book


WITH A FOREWORD BY BENITO MUSSOLINI

THE WAR IN ABYSSINIA

by PIETRO BADOGLIO

Marshal of Italy, Duke of Addis Ababa

PREFACE

THE history of a great war can only be written after years have passed, when the chief actors have vanished, when documents have been gathered together and put in order; only then can the elements of fact be appraised objectively and judgment be objectively pronounced.

This book cannot therefore be, nor does it aim at being, the history [illegible] and its spirit clear. I have sought above all to give it detachment and truth.

It is dedicated to the Fascist Nation, that has understood and followed the course of the war with passion and faith, in perfect communion of spirit and of strength; that has given to the war, as always, its contribution of blood, and to the world, as never before, a vision of such endurance, of souls so ardent, of hearts so devoted alike to their country whose greatness is now enhanced, to their King now become an Emperor, and to their Leader whose hand guides them.

PIETRO BADOGLIO

Above is the title page and part of preface of the book Badoglio wrote in 1937, boasting of his slaughters of the Abyssinian masses. The "Leader" to whom he dedicated the book was of course Mussolini, who made Badoglio a Marshal and Duke.

CRDC Renews Fund Drive On Anniversary Of Trial Of 18

October 27 marks the second anniversary of the beginning of the Minneapolis labor trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and officers of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO.

Their prosecution arose out of the attempt of the Roosevelt administration and its labor flunkeys, like AFL Teamsters International President Daniel J. Tobin, to smash and outlaw all political and union opposition to the war program.

This was the main motive behind the Minneapolis trial which lasted five weeks. The sole "evidence" against the 28 defendants consisted of certain remarks which they were alleged to have made before witnesses who were mostly Tobin's employees or agents and publicly-sold publications of the Socialist Workers Party, together with the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Eighteen defendants were found guilty of violating the Smith "Gag" Act which makes it a federal crime to exercise freedom of speech as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. This Act, passed in 1940,was sponsored by the same poll-tax Representative Howard Smith who leads the anti-labor bloc in Congress and who backed the Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

SUPREME COURT APPEAL

The convictions of the 18 were recently upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals and are now being appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Minneapolis case has been nationally recognized as the test case of labor's rights and civil liberties in the Second World War. If the Smith "Gag" Act is upheld and the Socialist Workers Party leaders are sent to federal prison, other minority groups can and will be similarly punished for their opinions. If the officers of Local 544-CIO can be jailed for their union activities, this sets a precedent which can and will be used against other union militants.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has directed the case from the beginning, is conducting a national campaign for funds to finance the U. S. Supreme Court appeal. Contributions should be sent to the national office of the CRDC, 160 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Postal to Appear Before Minnesota Pardons Board

Letters, Resolutions Demand His Freedom

On October 13 the Minnesota State Pardons Board took under advisement pleas for a pardon for Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Union Local 544-CIO. Postal is now in Stillwater state penitentiary serving a five year sentence on trumped up charges of "embezzlement" of union funds.

The Pardons Board said it would question Postal personally on October 20, but its decision on a pardon would not be announced until a later date.

Elwood Fitchette, attorney retained by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, stated to the board that Postal had acted under legal advice of the national CIO when he turned over funds of General Drivers Union 544-AFL to the CIO union after the membership had voted to transfer to the CIO. He declared that Postal had never been accused of misusing the funds on his own behalf.

UNION CONTRIBUTION

Harold Falk, former president of the Minneapolis Council of Civic Clubs also appeared to argue in Postal's favor, declaring that Postal's personal record was good and his integrity had never been questioned. The only thing that had ever been said against him was that he was an "ardent advocate for the rights of labor."

The labor movement continued pouring in support for Kelly Postal through contributions to the CRDC, which is conducting a national campaign to secure the freedom of Postal. Among this week's trade-union contributors were: United Steelworkers of America lodge 2715, Reading Pa.; United Steelworkers lodge 1358, Detroit Mich.; United Steel Workers lodge 2075, Clawson, Mich.; United Steel Workers lodge 1876, Bay City, Mich.

UAW-CIO local 80, Detroit, Mich.; Rochester Railroad Council, Rochester, N. Y.; Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, Albert Lea, Minn.; United Rubber Workers local 49, Grand Rapids, Mich.; United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers local 1140, Minneapolis, Minn.; United Cement & Quarry Workers local 1229, Petoskey, Mich.; United Paper Novelty & Toy Workers local 1003, Monroe, Mich.

Allies Intend To Dominate Europe Through Quislings

Stalin Joins With Roosevelt-Churchill in Support of Counter-Revolutionary Regime

By John Adamson

Repeating all the harsh phrases about Nazi Germany that only yesterday it spoke against its present allies, the government of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio declared war on Germany October 13. Thus the Italian capitalists once again expose the real aims and purposes of the Second World War. Like their fellow capitalists all over the world, the Italian rulers are not interested in the fatherland, love of country or democracy. They are fighting only for their profits, their privileges, their rule.

Acting on obviously prearranged plans, the Roosevelt and Churchill governments promptly recognized Italy as a co-belligerent state.

What is the meaning and purpose of this new turn in the diplomatic chess-game? Is this new event to be understood as a simple military maneuver on the part of Anglo-American capitalism, designed solely to increase its military strength? Only completely ignorant people will accept this hypocritical explanation handed out by the spokesmen of the British and U. S. governments.

Italy's declaration of war against Germany, has at best only tenth rate importance for the Anglo-American war camp, from the purely military point of view. Its primary importance is **political.** The Badoglio deal is part and parcel of the whole reactionary Roosevelt-Churchill policy of throttling the working class revolution in Europe and installing under their tutelage and bayonets clerical and monarchical reactionary regimes.

FEEBLE REGIME

The U. S.-British recognition of Italy's co-belligerency constitutes the latest link in the allied policy in Italy, which has been consciously and deliberately pursued since the ouster of Mussolini. Anglo-American capitalism now hopes to "freeze" the Badoglio regime in power and to thoroughly stamp out the fires of the Italian revolution. **Roosevelt and Churchill hope to ensure the rule of the Italian capitalists under the monarchy, so that if later on they are forced to call elections, these will have about as much democratic content as a Hitler plebiscite.**

The **N. Y. Times,** authoritative organ of the American moneybags, virtually admits as much in its own guarded language.

Marshal Badoglio, Mussolini's righthand man during twenty years of fascist rule, took the occasion of Allied recognition of Italy as a co-belligerent to try to strengthen the position of his feeble regime. He assured the Italian masses that "free elections" would be held four months after "peace is restored." As a sign of his good faith, (he knows the Italian people do not have a nickel's worth of confidence in him) Badoglio cited the fact that he issued the decree dissolving the Chamber of Fascists when Mussolini was ousted. **Badoglio forgot to relate, of course, that this decree was issued only after the Italian workers took to the streets and began the physical destruction of the fascist leaders while the troops refused to shoot down the demonstrators.**

ITALIAN ARMY

The **N. Y. Times** correspondent gives the unofficial point of view of the allied governments and the military high command as follows: "The Italian army as such cannot be regarded in its present state as an important striking force because of its great losses of men and equipment, but primarily because the all-important will to fight had been observed as very low for a long time preceding the armistice."

Why then accept Italy as a co-belligerent? Because "there is obviously an enormous amount of behind-the-lines work, particularly in their own country, where the Italians can be of enormous use." What kind of work? The Allied governments apparently are thinking first of all of "the great laboring populations of Milan, Turin and Genoa" and they hope that the Italian workers "will see in the advancing forces not only foreign armies considerably less odious than those they are driving out but Italian forces themselves."

In plain English, Anglo-American capitalism thinks it can strangle the Italian revolution and impose its reactionary pro-

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Spellman Defends Franco Dictatorship

By Felix Morrow

Archbishop Francis J. Spellman recently concluded a six-months' trip abroad. Ostensibly he went as Vicar-General, to inspect the work of the chaplains and visit with the soldiers. But, if one examines the press clippings, and even by his own account, it is clear how little time Spellman gave to the official pretext for his journeying.

He spent his time primarily shuttling between Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, North Africa, spending much time with the Pope, Franco, Salazar, Churchill, Eisenhower and the American ambassadors.

Spellman met with Roosevelt on the eve of his departure. Two items must be recalled to understand the significance of this fact: (1) Roosevelt's letter of Dec. 24, 1939 to the Pope, extending an official invitation to the Vatican for "parallel action" on post-war problems; (2) Spellman's role as link between the Vatican and Washington—he was for seven years in the Vatican Secretariat of State, worked closely there with the present Pope (Cardinal Pacelli) who was then head of that Secretariat. Spellman also worked closely with Pacelli when he came here in November 1936, met and was successful in persuading Roosevelt to aid Franco by preventing arms shipments to the Loyalists.

The field of "parallel action" between Washington and the Vatican was indicated by the well-informed French journalist, Pertinax who stated in the May 12 **N. Y. Times** that **Archbishop Spellman had reported from Italy that the Vatican was "deeply concerned with the social upheavals in the peninsula that are likely to be the outcome of military defeat." Nor is the Vatican's fear of revolution limited to the peninsula; its fears, indeed, extend to the entire continent.**

The Vatican's plan for preventing revolution in Italy was reported in the May 11 **N. Y. Times** as having been "elaborated in a special message from the Pope to Archbishop Spellman." It centered around collaboration between the Badoglio elements and the Allies —and it is the plan now being carried out.

Now indications are accumulating of a similar Vatican-Allied agreement on a plan for saving Franco's regime from the vengeance of the Spanish masses, and here too Spellman is playing a central role.

Even the time Spellman spent with the U. S. soldiers was used for this purpose. For example, in a speech to the troops in North Africa, Spellman reassured Salazar and Franco by declaring that "we"—the U. S. government—"have engaged to respect the territorial integrity of Spain and Portugal." Obviously he really meant that the "integrity" of those dictatorial regimes would be protected against the suffering masses of Spain and Portugal.

SPELLMAN'S LETTER

Now Spellman has embarked on a campaign to prepare U. S. public opinion for the Vatican-Washington plan for Spain. The campaign takes the form of a serial publication weekly in **Collier's** of Spellman's "letters from the fighting fronts to his father." Actually the fighting fronts hardly appear, for the real business is to sell the Vatican-Washington brand of reaction. **In addition to the millions of readers of Collier's, many other millions are receiving the gist of Spellman's "letters" through nation-wide summaries of them in the daily press.**

The device of letters to his father serves Spellman's aim very well. It enables him to pass off as honest and informal eyewitness reports a program for Spain which in reality is least of all to be supported by eyewitness evidence.

Thus, for example, the foundation-stone of the Vatican-Washington program is the re-establishment of the Spanish monarchy as a "new" facade for the hated Franco regime. For Spellman to attempt to present persuasive arguments for it would be a difficult task, indeed. Much easier is to pretend to "report" to his father:

"There are many Spaniards who desire a return of the monarchy and are in agreement more now than formerly, for the pretender to the throne has married a Carlist, which unites in one family both groups desirous of monarchial rule." (**Colliers,** Oct. 16.)

How many are the "many Spaniards?" This all-embarassing question Spellman does not have to answer, thanks to the use of the device of "informal" letters to his papa.

MORE LIES

One lie demands another still greater one to fortify it. Having pretended that "many Spaniards" want the monarchy back, Spell-

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The American Legion -- Tool Of Big Business

By Larissa Reed

At its silver anniversary convention on Sept. 21 in Omaha, the American Legion laid plans to make itself the dominant organization among the fighting men of the Second World War. And Big Business has publicly offered millions of dollars to finance the Legion's effort. The sinister motive behind the announced campaign becomes clear once the history of this organization is recalled.

Born out of the First World War, the American Legion is a counter-revolutionary tool of monopoly capitalism. First used to combat the growth of revolutionary sentiment among the American workers and soldiers after the October, 1917, revolution in Russia, it has remained throughout the years a viciously anti-labor organization.

Revolution in the Air

"When the Armistice was signed [in 1918]," wrote Marcus Duffield in "King Legion," "the American troops in France suffered an emotional let-down. They wanted to go home straightway and the longer they stayed abroad the more discontented they became. As Allied troops fraternized with Germans, both sides began asking why the war was fought. Talk of Bolshevism and revolution was in the air; of German soldiers' risings against their generals, of French mutinies.

"The American General Staff was seriously concerned about how to keep up morale. American bankers and business men who visited Europe returned filled with anxiety. What would be the attitude of the returning troops. . . Would the ex-soldiers upset things?"

The gravity of the threat to capitalism set in motion the combined forces of Big Business, their government servants and the military staff. **On Feb. 15, 1919 at a private dinner given by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for a group of 20 "silk-stocking" officers, the organizational setup and program of the American Legion was cooked up. A month later the scheme was set in motion through a public caucus in Paris.**

Chartered By Congress

Colonel Roosevelt, with the tacit approval of the War Department undertook the task of forming the new veterans' society among the American troops. "He created a nation-wide skeleton organization," writes Duffield. "Placards were posted everywhere in the country and shiploads of publicity sent abroad for soldiers to read on the return voyage. When the men reached the piers, they were met by the Legion representatives with more pamphlets. The mayors of every city and town in the country were asked to help get the Legion in the local newspapers."

It was more difficult to round up the men in this country. Franklin D'Olier, a wealthy business man who was the first commander of the American Legion, complained of the "skepticism" of the veterans here and of difficulties with the labor movement which felt that the Legion was out to become a strike-breaking organization.

The campaign was given a big boost when Congress on Sept. 16, 1919, granted a charter to the American Legion, the first veterans organization in this country to be so distinguished.

A quarter of a million dollars was needed to finance the Legion up to the time of its first convention. **A letter on Swift & Co. stationery, dated Dec. 26, 1919, exposes the method by which the money was raised from Big Business and banking interests who "had reason to feel that the Legion would be the safeguard against the spread of undesirable ideas" among the home-coming troops.** The letter stated that at a meeting of stock yard interests, a quota of $10,000 was voted by these business men toward the $100,000 requested from the state of Illinois by the American Legion.

The Legion has never revealed the names of the "400 friends" who subsidized it, nor has it denied the accusation that the powder trust, the rubber trust, the oil trust and others were among these "400." The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce made the Legion a present of a magnificent headquarters in that city.

Reactionary Leadership

The Legion is tightly organized through a bureaucratic hierarchy. Under the national commander, who holds office for one year, is the national executive board which helps formulate policies. Then come 49 department commanders, one for each state and the District of Columbia. Then the post commanders, who in 1936 numbered 11,248.

"American Legion commanders have not been average Americans, average ex-service men, or average Legionnaires," writes William Gellerman of Columbia University in "The American Legion as Educator." They are members of the "privileged class" which has "profited from existing social and economic arrangements." **The average commander is a college graduate, a prosperous lawyer, banker or businessman. All of them have been military officers.**

Following an established pattern, typical examples of these commanders are: Hanford MacNider, Harvard graduate, member of several fancy country and racquet clubs, banker and businessman, Assistant Secretary of War under Coolidge, minister to Canada under Hoover and former head of the Iowa chapter of "America First," an ultra-reactionary group; Alvin M. Owsley, notorious red-baiter; and Paul V. McNutt, the "Hoosier-Hitler," one-time governor of Indiana and present head of the War Manpower Commission.

Political Influence

Although its constitution declares it is non-political, the Legion goes into politics on a vast scale. From the very beginning a powerful Washington lobby was built up, the envy of other lobbyists in the capital. This "legislative committee" costs over $25,000 a year. By 1935 the American Legion had 16 members in the U. S. Senate, and 130 in the House of Representatives. **"Naturally," said the 1942 report of the Legion lobby, "we fought for the continuation of the Dies Committee."**

The Legion has virtually taken over one arm of the government, the Veterans Bureau, which is packed with selected Legionnaires who carry out the will of the Legion. Above all, it serves as a huge propaganda arm of the officers' caste in the War Department.

Like a giant octopus, the American Legion extends its tentacles into every walk of life, and particularly into the field of education. Its viciously reactionary ideas are wrapped in star-spangled bunting and labeled "Americanism." Teachers who oppose Legion interference and ideas are condemned as "radicals" and accused of "poisoning the minds of children." Pressure is applied to terrorize them into submission or expel them from the schools.

Anti-Soviet

In the sphere of economics, the Legion attributed the great depression to "human nature." Glorifying its "spiritual" benefits, the Legion declared that the depression gave the wage workers—millions of whom were standing in the bread lines—"a chance to rest and get in good physical shape for the next pull."

This year the Legion is preparing to raise additional millions of dollars to "keep America sold on Americanism." This, writes Gellerman, "has come to mean 100% agreement with the American Legion." All dissenters, all opposers of their reactionary program are called "subversive elements" against whom the Legion has declared total war. "Subversive elements" are either "foreigners" who should be shot or deported, or "idealists" who should be shot or imprisoned.

The Soviet Union has been the prime object of the Legion's hatred, and it early condemned those who advocated the recognition of the "Lenin-Trotsky Soviet Government" by the U. S.

Toward Fascism

Commander Owsley made clear the direction in which the Legion wishes to travel when he declared to an interviewer in the 1920's: ". . .the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to the U. S." Legionnaires participated in attacking workers who attempted to picket theatres showing Hearst's anti-labor and pro-war films. In California a Legion committee horsewhipped an editor because it did not like his views. In Cincinnati Legionnaires "rescued" two American flags from the headquarters of the Communist Labor Party. They broke up a Lenin Memorial meeting in Wilkes Barre, Pa., prodding the audience with guns to make them salute the flag.

Organized violence against workers and their trade unions began on the first anniversary of the Armistice when legionnaires attacked the IWW at Centralia, Wash. It has continued from that time and has afflicted cities from coast to coast. In Oakland, Calif., a Legion post armed 200 of its members as auxiliary police against striking workers; in Detroit 1,000 were pledged for the same purpose; in a Denver street car strike 500 armed and uniformed Legionnaires patrolled the streets.

A Legion Commander explained why eight men had been given exceptionally heavy sentences for trying to organize a strike of melon pickers in the Imperial Valley: "The Judge who tried them was a Legionnaire; 50% of the jurors were war veterans. What chance did they have?"

Just as it did in the service of Big Business 25 years ago, the American Legion is trying again to drive a wedge between the soldiers and the workers in the Second World War. **The labor movement must meet this threat with its own campaign to unite the workers and soldiers in defense of their common interests.**

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

When the third mine strike was called off last June under a truce extending to Oct. 31, the UMW policy committee instructed the miners to go back into the pits and dig coal only so long as the mines remained under formal government control. **Last week Fuel Coordinator Harold L. Ickes turned the last of the mines back into the hands of the private owners, and 22,000 Alabama coal miners immediately quit work. 5,000 Indiana shaft miners followed suit.**

John L. Lewis wired the local unions involved, requesting them to meet and call off the strike. Threatening to invoke the Smith-Connally law and Roosevelt's sanctions order against the miners, the WLB ordered them to go back into the pits forthwith.

The Indiana miners are reported to be reluctantly returning to the job. **However, the Alabama coal diggers voted almost unanimously to disregard the WLB order and stay out of the pits until they get a union contract.**

"According to reports from the striking areas," says the Oct. 19 **N. Y. Times**, "the miners were refusing to attend meetings lest they incur the penalties of the Connally-Smith act and they had somehow set up some form of a 'silent understanding' with each other whereby they did not even need to speak, but would act as individuals as long as their wage greivances were not redressed."

Since the last general mine strike was called off, every agreement the UMW has forced out of the mine owners has been turned down by the power-drunk "impartial arbitrators" of the WLB. **Lewis and his negotiating committee concluded an agreement early last summer with the Illinois operators, providing for portal-to-portal pay of $1.25 and overtime pay. The WLB vetoed it.** Other negotiations with the Appalachian operators were after many fruitless meetings broken off by the arrogant mine owners who feel secure in the knowledge that the WLB is a bulwark behind them.

Lewis then conducted new negotiations with the Illinois operators and concluded another contract with them. This new agreement still lies in the files of the WLB. The board has announced it will hold a "public hearing" Oct. 21 to give the Appalachian operators a chance to attack the Illinois agreement.

With the Oct. 31 deadline less than two weeks off, the coal miners are finding many ways to register their indignant protests against the raw deal they are getting from the Roosevelt administration. One mine owner told Ickes that the lack of a contract is undoubtedly responsible for the low level of coal production. **He said that coal cars returning to the surface in his mines bear the chalk marked legends, "When do we get our contracts?"—"What about our contracts?" "No contract, no sweat!"**

* * *

Even the capitalist press has come to admit that Roosevelt's handling of the wage demands of almost one and one-half million railroad workers is a farce. The **N. Y. Times** of Oct. 17, in commenting on Vinson's approval of a four cent increase for the 350,000 operating employes, and Roosevelt's appointment of still another board to reconsider the demands of the 1,100,000 non-operating employes, said: **"Today's actions further confuses a situation which students of labor arbitration say is putting the railway labor arbitration machinery . . . into disrepute."**

The non-operating unions have been negotiating for a 20% wage increase since Sept. 1942. The operating unions have been negotiating for a 30% wage increase since Feb. 1943. Both groups have been getting a royal runaround.

After a breakdown of negotiations between the non-operating unions and the carriers, Roosevelt appointed an emergency board to hear the case. **This board on May 24 recommended a miserly eight cent increase for the workers. On June 30, Fred M. Vinson, Economic Stabilization Director arbitrarily vetoed the raise.**

The officials of the non-operating unions then went back to see Roosevelt. He advised them to go back into direct negotiations with the carriers. These meetings resulted in an agreement between the union officials and the carriers, embodying the eight cent increase. The contract was sent to Vinson who simply sat on it, refusing to rule.

The union officials now treked back to Roosevelt to protest Vinson's stalling This time Roosevelt advised them to wait until the board which was considering the operating unions' demands had handed in its recommendation. Then, he said, both matters could be settled at once.

Late in September the emergency board hearing the operating unions' demands handed down its recommendation for a four cent increase to these workers. **The union officials, under heavy pressure from the rank and file, labeled the grant an "insult" and announced that they will meet in Chicago Oct. 22 to consider authorizing a strike vote.**

On Oct. 16, Vinson announced his approval of the four cent increase to the operating employes. At the same time he virtually ordered the new board just appointed by Roosevelt to bring in a like recommendation for the non-operating employes.

In the July 3 issue, **The Militant** said editorially: **"Isn't it obvious that if instead of isolating and knifing the mine workers, the railroad union officials had joined with the miners in fighting Roosevelt's wage freeze policy, if instead of cooperating with Roosevelt against the miners, they had cooperated with the miners against Roosevelt, then not only the miners but the railroad workers as well would be further ahead today?"**

This seems to sum up the opinion of many railroad workers as well. George W. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, admitted at the AFL convention that the railroad workers "are losing confidence in their leaders," and that "the demand for a strike vote now is widespread."

Union officials report there have been more strikes on the railroads since July than there have been since the Railway Labor Act was passed by Congress in 1926.

Republic Steel Foremen Strike

CLEVELAND, Oct. 17—When 13 foremen belonging to the unaffiliated Foremen's Association of America went on strike at the Republic Steel Corporation's strip mill here, CIO steelworkers went out in support despite pressure from Phillip Murray and order from the WLB to stay on the job.

Owen Dixon, international representative, stated that he had tried to get the men, organized in local 2265, back to work, but admitted that, **"The men just don't feel like going through a picket line. They are union men, and a picket line means a picket line regardless of what union is involved."**

Murray and William Donovan, district director of the steel workers here, were concerned, however, only with the fact that the "no strike pledge" had been violated. After receiving telegrams from Murray and the WLB, Donovan said "There is no strike as far as we are concerned and we are not recognizing that picket line. We are going to make every effort to get the mill back into operation at the earliest possible time."

Just a month ago, Donovan had publicly stated that the steel companies were refusing to settle any grievances and that "I have taken my gloves off, thrown them in the corner and am ready for a showdown." Donovan proceeded however, to get tough, not with the companies, but with the local unions. He instituted charges against militant union presidents Adams of local 1298 and Jablonski of local 1519. **Trial committees in their own locals exonerated both of these union officials.**

Robert H. Keys, national president of the foremen's union, condemned the WLB for refusing to recognize their dispute and for not considering foremen as "employees."

Industry has gone to great lengths in the past, with fair success, to get foremen to consider themselves as "a part of management" opposed to the organized workers. The labor movement will unquestionably become strengthened if these "non-coms" of capital, who number several million throughout the country, come to identify their interests with those of other workers.

We hear from our agent in **Buffalo** that "the reception of the two issues of **The Militant**, distributed at the UAW convention in Buffalo, October 4-10, was very gratifying. Most of the delegates took the paper and it was read carefully by delegates and officers. Showing their appreciation of the paper, delegates gave our distributors $2.65.

"Any observer entering the huge convention hall after each distribution could see Militants **spread out and being read in the balcony, on the floor, and on the platform.**

"One incident of the convention reveals the effect of our paper. On Saturday **The Militant**, carrying the story on the first two days of the convention, was distributed. In the story, Art Preis mentions that the officers were trying to stall discussion on the fundamental issues. On Saturday afternoon, after much valuable time was spent on gift presentations and speeches—with the no-strike pledge and the election of a Negro to the executive board still not reported in by the resolution committee — R. J. Thomas got up to recommend a night session. **'I know there are people who seem to think that there has been some stalling on certain things. . .' he said."**

* * *

A subscriber in **Detroit** wrote us airmail special delivery: "Will you please have **The Militant** with the complete report on the auto convention sent to me airmail special delivery. I am leading a discussion on the convention and would appreciate having **The Militant** report as soon as possible."

* * *

Our **Chicago** agent sent us an airmail order: "We wish to order 1,500 additional copies of the issue of **The Militant** which will contain the complete story on the UAW convention. Money will follow. Our bundle of that issue will thus be 3,000 copies."

* * *

We just received a long-distance telephone call from our agent in **Philadelphia** ordering all additional copies of this week's issue and last week's issue that we can spare.

* * *

A number of comrades from the New York Local mobilized Friday night, Oct. 15, to distribute the paper carrying the "Open Letter to the Members of the Young Communist League," at the opening rally of the YCL Dissolution Convention. The reception was excellent. There were no provocations, most of the people who went to the meeting took the paper, and comrades who went into the meeting saw it being read all over the meeting hall.

Frankel Discusses UAW Convention At Forum

"Leon Trotsky explained that the trade union movement would either become tied to the bourgeoisie and grow closer and closer to the capitalist class, or strike out for itself in an independent revolutionary role. Trotsky said this must be true of all unions, no matter what type they are," stated Harry Frankel in his Marxian analysis of the UAW convention before approximately 60 workers who attended the October 17 Sunday forum sponsored by the New York School of Social Science.

The speaker explained that upon "examining the UAW convention, it must be said that the union still stands at the crossroads," although the convention showed that the bourgeoisie and the union leadership failed to realize their perspective of "wiping out the trade union democracy which stands as strong as ever in the UAW . . . that the workers defended themselves against any attempt to wipe out standing union gains."

The mood of the convention was vividly portrayed as one of intense seriousness. The delegates were described as "obviously the cream of the American working class—seasoned workers from the heart of the mass industries."

Keen insight was shown in the thoroughgoing analysis of the action taken by the convention on the four main issues before the body — incentive pay, the Little Steel formula, the no-strike pledge and the fourth term for Roosevelt. Comrade Frankel explained that "the issues could be better understood when divided into issues of offensive and defensive measures."

In all defensive matters, such as democratic rights, increased union dues—matters which they fully understood—the delegates were decisive in their attitude. But where called upon to translate their economic struggle into a political one "and begin a fight against the whole present administration, the delegates were not ready to actually take the lead in that struggle for American labor."

Comrade Frankel ended his lecture with a note of hope and optimism for the future in saying, **"A Marxist who saw that convention and analyzed the undercurrents . . . does not doubt that he is in the presence of the future working class government of the United States."**

At next Sunday's forum, Oct. 24, John G. Wright, noted authority on Soviet affairs, will speak on "Soviet Life in War-time" as reflected in the pages of the Moscow press.

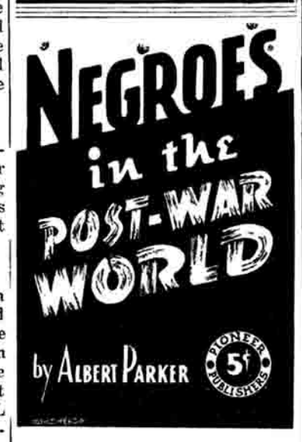
A Letter from Natalia Trotsky

Dear Comrades,

I thank you warmly for the telegrams sent me by the meetings you organized in memory of the third anniversary of the death of our leader-teacher. His immortality is attested by your revolutionary and untiring work, exceptionally difficult during these times of war.

I was very profoundly moved by your desires to communicate with me on that day commemorative of August 20, 1940.

NATALIA TROTSKY



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AFL CONVENTION PAVES WAY FOR MINERS REINSTATEMENT

(Continued from page 1)

Bugniazet of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers — who said "competent" Negro electricians were accepted — said that he had looked for such IBEW members in every part of the country and "can't find them anywhere."

Although the leadership felt it necessary to record itself against discrimination, resentment on the issue in its top circle was indicated when John P. Frey, head of the Metal Trades, and C. J. MacGowan of the Boilermakers, both condemned A. Philip Randolph as having done the Negro people a "disservice" by demanding abrogation of auxiliary locals. **Randolph made the unanswerable reply that to call attention to an abuse could only aid the Negro people.**

The motion which paves the way for the reinstatement of the miners came with almost no opposition on the floor. although it is known that the International Association of Machinists — reinstated earlier at this convention after having left the AFL May 27 because of jurisdictional disputes — and other groups had attempted to prevent it.

The motion on the miners took the form of empowering the Executive Council to admit the miners. Opponents had attempted to amend the resolution so that the next convention would pass on the conditions of reinstatement. But apparently an understanding had been reached between the miners officials and the AFL "big shots" and John L. Lewis, on the eve of the convention, sent a letter giving satisfactory assurances that jurisdictional differences with the miners' District 50 would be adjusted.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

Father Haas, chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, has resigned to take a job as bishop in Michigan, and President Roosevelt has promoted Malcolm Ross, former deputy chairman, to Haas' post. **Opponents of Jim Crow will be pardoned if they voice the suspicion that Haas took a runout powder.**

For a month has passed since the FEPC hearings on railroad Jim Crowism, and the FEPC is still deliberating over what it shall do or attempt to do about the railroad situation. Haas knows that it cannot do anything really effective, because the FEPC has no power to enforce its recommendations, and he knows that he cannot make good on his promises about abolishing industrial Jim Crow.

Willard S. Townsend, president of the CIO Transport Service Employes was 100% correct when he asserted immediately after the railroad hearings that the FEPC is dead. **One could go even further and say with good grounds that the FEPC was still-born. It never accomplished much because Washington never intended that it should.** Some Negroes still entertain hopes to the contrary, but we predict with confidence that they will be dashed to the ground when the FEPC finally takes a position on the railroad industry.

* * *

Negroes at home have no desire to see Negro troops slaughtered on the war fronts. Nevertheless they are getting angrier and angrier about the Army's policy of not using Negro soldiers for combat duty. This may seem like a contradiction, but it's not.

Because while not used as combat troops except on very rare occasions, the Negro soldiers are facing danger and death just the same. Employed for the most part as "engineers," which is a fancy name for labor battalions, they are active on the fighting fronts in building roads, clearing demolitions and handling supplies. Dispatches from North Africa and Italy confirm that the proportion of casualties is at least as great for this kind of work as for any other in the armed forces.

The point is that while Negroes do not object to doing their fair share of this kind of dirty and dangerous work, they do feel strongly about being restricted to it. But that is one of the purposes of the military segregation of Negroes, which the White House upheld in 1940 on the ground that changes "would produce situations destructive to morale."

A lot has changed in the three years since this statement was made, but not the Army policy. As Secretary of War Stimson told a **Pittsburgh Courier** reporter last week, "the Army's basic policies are unchanged."

* * *

During this same period, the Navy policy has changed somewhat, for it now admits many Negroes and not only as kitchen lackeys, but it too still treats Negroes as second-class citizens. Washington correspondent John Jasper estimates in the Oct. 16 **Afro-American** that as many as 500,000 Negroes may be drafted into the Navy next year. Mr. Jasper examines present conditions of Negroes in the Navy and finds that the prospect is not particularly "promising."

He reports, for example, that there is not a Negro serving as a commissioned officer in the entire Navy, and only one in the Coast Guard. Trained seamen are strictly segregated. Some of them, handling explosives in a New England ammunition depot, "supplant civilian stevedores who were formerly paid up to $80 a week for this work. These men complain that they are not permitted to work at their trade, are denied promotion. . ." He quotes a letter from a seaman in training at Great Lakes, Ill.:

"Not a single colored chief petty officer leads a colored company, yet third class petty officers are doing the work but are denied the rank because of their color. . . Up here in Illinois, the Navy has introduced segregation, refusal to serve colored seamen in certain centers, segregation of white and colored sailors at camp movies by compulsion."

Government officials express concern over the effects of Japanese propaganda on the American Negro people. Yet a thousand Japanese agents working night and day for five years couldn't do as much to arouse discontent among the Negro masses as the U. S. brass hats do every day in the week.

* * *

George Padmore, well known writer and London correspondent for two of America's leading Negro papers, has supplied the following information about colonial aspects of the U. S.-British deal with Badoglio:

"Reports from Brindisi, reaching London over the weekend, speak of important discussions between top-ranking British and American representatives and Marshal Badoglio. These reports suggest that Badoglio, who ordered Abyssinians to be sprayed with mustard gas during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, is trying to get the Allied governments to return certain territories in Africa to King Victor Emmanuel as a reward for deserting Hitler and going with the Anglo-American bloc.

"At the same time, Badoglio has established relations with certain so-called Italian liberals in America, headed by Count Carlo Sforza, a former foreign minister of Italy before the Mussolini regime. The marshal has invited these Italian anti-fascists to come back to that part of Italy now under AMGOT.

"In a declaration made public in London, Count Sforza, who is politically persona grata with the American State Department and the British Foreign Office has endorsed Badoglio's colonial claims. He advocates the return of the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, but wants England and America to allow the Badoglio government—broadened to include liberals and other anti-Mussolini elements—to retain control over Libya in North Africa, and Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in East Africa."

It is not yet certain that the Allied leaders will recognize the Badoglio-Sforza colonial claims. Whether they do or not, one thing is sure: the Allied leaders, like the Axis leaders, have no intention of returning these African colonies to their righful owners, the people who live there. Only Workers' and Farmers' Governments in this country, Britain and Italy will do that.

San Francisco Union Skates Block Road To Labor Party

By C. Thomas

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 17. — The current municipal election provides an object lesson in company unionism in politics.

San Francisco is one of the most strongly organized union cities in the entire country and the labor movement, with its friends and allies, constitutes the overwhelming majority of the city's population. Yet the AFL and CIO leadership refrained from presenting a labor candidate.

The CIO Council, completely dominated by the Stalinists, met Sept. 19 to discuss which of the four principal contenders for mayor was to be designated as the "workers' choice." The four are Angelo Rossi, present mayor; Roger Lapham, chairman of the board of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company; Geo. Reilly, member of the State Board of Equalization, which controls the liquor traffic in California; and Chester MacPhee, City Supervisor. The CIO leaders issued the following statement:

ENDORSE MACPHEE

"We have considered all the candidates. It is our full and considered judgment that on the basis of personal integrity and ability, on the basis of a record of actual accomplishments in public life, on the basis of open and sincere response to our program, on the basis of his ability to unite the broadest sections of the city in support of the President at home and abroad, and for an energetic attack on the problems of our city, the best candidate available for mayor of San Francisco in the coming elections is Chester MacPhee."

Two weeks later the AFL group met and endorsed their own "workers' choice," George Reilly. This caused a bit of consternation in the Stalinist camp which had hoped to force an all-labor endorsement of MacPhee by confronting the AFL with an accomplished fact.

These events coincided with the appearance in the city of Sidney Hillman, who as chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, was making a tour of the West Coast. A few days after the endorsement of Reilly by the AFL, the official Stalinist "Election News" published by the campaign committee of the Communist Party expressed the following sentiment:

"We hope, together with every other union and progressive force, that the way can be cleared quickly for labor to get together behind ONE candidate."

STALINIST FLIP-FLOP

And lo and behold! It wasn't but a few days after that the prayers of the Communist Party were answered: the local CIO Council met, rescinded the endorsement of MacPhee and endorsed Reilly. The same Reilly who was characterized in the CIO Council's original statement in the following manner:

"While seeking labor support, Reilly remains on the friendliest terms with the labor-baiting Hearst press. This benevolent association dates from the time when Mayor Rossi appointed Reilly to the Board of Supervisors. **In fact, the record shows that Reilly has been, and still is today, all things to all men."** (My emphasis—C. T.)

A number of CIO unions influenced by the Stalinists had already gone on record for MacPhee. The rank and file Stalinists in the unions translated the official CIO Council characterization of Reilly — "all things to all men" — into the language of the street, referring to him as a "pimp." **Now they are confronted with the not too pleasant task of explaining to the workers why it is necessary to cast their vote for a "pimp."**

The boss press, which has divided its endorsement between Lapham and Rossi, published indignant editorials stigmatizing the CIO "betrayal" of MacPhee as "contemptible" and "unprincipled." In reply, the CIO Political Action Committee explains that it was done in the name of "unity of labor" and for the purpose of "unifying all the people in support of the commander-in-chief." MacPhee, acting the injured innocent, issued a statement which said:

"The CIO endorsed me because they said they believed I was the best qualified candidate for mayor. If this was true two weeks ago, it is true today. The rank and file of organized labor will speak for labor on election day — they need no one to pick their candidate for them."

ABSTENTIONISM

Unfortunately, it is not true that the rank and file of labor will speak for labor on election day. AFL and CIO leaders have again blocked the road to independent working class political action. None of the candidates represent the interests of organized labor.

The workers of San Francisco are not fooled. This is indicated by the report of the registrar of voters that San Francisco will go into the election with the fewest voters since 1935. This, in spite of the fact that the population of the city has enjoyed a tremendous increase, and despite the frantic efforts of the union officialdom to get out the vote — amounting in some Stalinist-led unions to making membership contingent on registering to vote.

There will come a time, and soon, when voting with their feet is converted by the workers into active determination to pick their own candidates, to write their own program, to build their own independent labor party. The miserable fiasco of the San Francisco municipal elections is part of the inevitable process of political education leading to labor's own party.

Spellman Defends Rule Of Franco Dictatorship

(Continued from page 1)

man is compelled to explain why Spain was a republic from April 1931 until crushed by Franco in the civil war of 1936-1939. Taking a leaf out of Hitler's book, which taught that if a lie is big enough some of it will be believed, Spellman writes:

"A word equivocally used in Spain and America is 'Loyalist.'. . . However, other Spaniards do not call them 'Loyalists.' They call them 'Communists.' It was this group of Loyalists or Communists that assumed power in Spain at the time (April 1931) when King Alfonso XIII fled.

"General Franco's supporters maintain that the general would have assumed control over Spain if international legionaires had not come to the aid of the Loyalists." (Colliers, Oct. 16.)

In these few sentences Spellman has perpetrated a series of deliberate falsehoods. Let us single out a few:

1. **The opposition to the monarchy became so universal among the great masses that not a blow had to be struck to topple the throne.** On April 13, 1931, when the results of the first relatively-free municipal elections became known, proving beyond dispute that the masses had voted overwhelmingly for the anti-monarchial parties, Alfonso fled—he could not even depend on the palace guards to protect him.

2. Far from requiring "international legionaires" to enable them to hold power, the republican parties were able to count on the great majority—the workers and peasants—against attempts to re-establish the monarchy. Franco saved himself in 1931-35 only by swearing allegiance to the republic.

COMMUNIST SPECTRE

3. In 1932 a group of generals attempted to overthrow the republic. Not even the soldiers under their command would follow them and they were quickly suppressed.

4. The first "international legionaires" that appeared came in July 1936 in the Franco forces —German and Italian aviators and artillery specialists, German and Italian battleships and finally whole Italian divisions, the materiel from Hitler and Mussolini on which Franco was entirely dependent. **Axis aid to Franco outweighed a hundred times the pitifully small amounts of materiel received from abroad by the Loyalists.**

5. Spellman raises the Communist spectre. In reality, the republic was thoroughly bourgeois, and the Loyalists lost the civil war not only because of Franco's military superiority but also because of the conservative policy of staking everything on the vain attempt to win the support of the "democracies" instead of arousing the European masses.

BESTIAL REPRESSIONS

Nowhere in Spellman's account does the fact appear that Franco led an armed invasion against a legal government. Nor is there a word about the fact that the first forces of this "Christian" enterprise consisted chiefly of Moorish mercenaries. Nor a hint of the fact that, even after exhausting all Spain for three years by fire and sword, Franco can rule only by the most bestial repressions—continued executions, millions still imprisoned, etc. Spellman has the effrontery to say only that "thousands" were imprisoned by Franco in 1939.

To cover up these omissions, Spellman digs up again the old lies of Loyalist atrocities: "Thousands were put to death for no greater crime than wearing a necktie," etc. The truth is that the workers and peasants, when they rose to repel Franco's invasion, were all-too generous, failing to take the necessary stringent measures against the upper class which would have put an end to the "fifth column" about which Franco openly boasted.

"We understood each other perfectly," writes Spellman of his meeting with Franco. No doubt, for they were there to do a filthy job together. Of that bloody butcher, his hands still reeking with the blood of Spain's millions, the Archbishop dares to write: "I cannot doubt that he is a man loyal to his God, devoted to his country's welfare, and definitely willing to sacrifice himself in any capacity and to any extent for Spain."

But how is this vile support of Franco compatible with the "war for democracy?" Spellman can reconcile the two only by throwing democracy out the window. He writes:

"Some might think it could all be solved by saying: 'Let every one be free, just as every one in the United States is free, and then everything will be just fine.' The formula for freedom is not so simple in every place in the world. Freedom is an anomalous term." (Colliers, Oct. 16.)

Certainly freedom is an anomalous term when those who are being asked to fight for it are serving to keep the Francos, Salazars and Victor Emmanuels on their shaking thrones. Every thinking worker should read Spellman's letters for, despite all their pious hypocrisy, they make clear the starkly reactionary game of the Washington-Vatican Axis.

U. S.-Britain Back Regime Of Badoglio

(Continued from page 1)

gram far more successfully by means of the Italian Quisling Badoglio regime than through its own military government. Roosevelt and Churchill believe that the Italian masses can be held in check more easily if Italy is still in a state of war and officially a partner, even though an insignificant one, of the Anglo-American war camp. They also hope thereby to gain the support of the Italian population behind the German lines.

SETS PATTERN

The Badoglio deal sets the pattern for the Allied "liberation" program in all Europe. Wall and Lombard Streets think they can impose their rule of exploitation, military occupation and political reaction in this round-about fashion. The AMG will serve as behind the scenes master under the facade of the Quisling Badoglio government. This is what the **N. Y. Times** correspondent means when he states that "the new status of Italy means a new and minimized role for the AMG."

The Italian capitalists are perfectly willing to play this jackal role to the allied war machine. They understand too well that the only chance of saving their rule is with the aid of Anglo-American arms. Badoglio makes no bones about this aspect of the matter. In an interview published October 14 in the **Eighth Army News**, a field newspaper for British troops, Badoglio states:

"After every war there is danger of communism. People are excited and overwrought after the distress of war. If conditions are too bad and they are without hope they turn to other presumed cures. The allies must help us, in the press and in propaganda, so that communism does not stand a chance."

STALIN'S ROLE

Roosevelt and Churchill are already working to sell the Badoglio government to the masses of England and the U. S. With this aim in mind, they are trying to enlist the support of the treacherous labor bureaucracies and the chicken-hearted liberals of both countries. Churchill in his recent report to Parliament urged that "the King and Marshal Badoglio should be supported by liberal and left wing elements. . ." Roosevelt went even further in soliciting the support of the labor bureaucrats for the infamous "Badoglio deal." He sent Adolph A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State to the Pecora-Pope-Antonini Italian-American Committee Columbus Day meeting with a personal message calling upon labor to cooperate with and throw their support behind the Badoglio dictatorship.

Government spokesmen hope to silence all opposition and criticism of this stark reactionary policy by pointing to the fact that Stalin has approved the deal and that the Soviet Government is a signatory to the agreement recognizing Italy as a co-belligerent. Stalin's action on Italy demonstrates that Pravda's criticisms of AMG policy are not worth the paper they are written on. **Again Stalin has helped to disorient the working class. Again his policy plays into the hands of the capitalists and weakens the only reliable ally of the Soviet union, the Italian workers and the working masses in all countries.**

The exact pattern of the program of Anglo-American capitalism is now fully clear. Anglo-American capitalism intends to follow in the footsteps of Hitler and attempt to rule Europe thru the agency of native reactionary Quisling governments. But that is the exact program with which Hitler first launched his conquest of Europe. The European masses will confront the Anglo-American occupation armies with the same resistance and revolt.

Proposed Plans For Peace That Will Bring No Peace

By M. Morrison

The discussion now raging around post-war foreign policy is a clear indication that American imperialism is confronted by tasks that demand a sharp turn on the part of those who formulate and control its policies. The necessity of bringing policy into correspondence with the actual relationship of forces on the world arena is the factor that has evoked the multiplicity of books, articles and debates dealing with the problem of the role of the United States in the post-war world.

The First World War ended with American capitalism winning a dominant position in the capitalist world. Its productive capacity brought victory to the Allies; from a debtor nation it became the outstanding creditor nation and its influence became paramount in every corner of the globe. The situation called for a more energetic, open and decisive participation in world affairs.

In proposing the creation of a League of Nations with full membership for the United States, President Wilson gave expression to the needs of American capitalism. Naturally the proposal was made with all the necessary idealistic references to peace and justice, and it need not be categorically denied that President Wilson would have liked to see peace and justice reign on earth. Only it was the kind of peace and justice that would be of invaluable aid to American capitalism. The democrat and idealist Wilson represented the interests of American imperialism far better than the hard-boiled isolationists.

But the time was not ripe. The isolationist forces developed by the preceding economic era, in which the home market was almost, if not altogether, adequate, were too powerful to permit American imperialism to make the necessary adjustments. Wilson's proposal to join the League of Nations was defeated.

* * *

Wilson's failure did not bring to a halt America's irresistible penetration throughout the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union. Every major economic problem had to be discussed with American financiers who made the ultimate decision. Every important matter arising within the League of Nations was discussed with an eye on the attitude of the U. S. government and it is doubtful whether any important decision was made without consultation with a representative of Washington.

As the strongest section of world capitalism, the United States could not possibly isolate itself. When German imperialism made another desperate venture to achieve a "place in the sun," it was inevitable that this country should participate in the conflict against Germany. It had too much at stake to permit German capitalism to become the dominant power in the world.

And one of the results of the present conflict is that it is reducing the number of those who want to confine the influence of American capitalism to something a little less than the whole world. The essence of the struggle between "isolationists" and "interventionists," before as well as after Pearl Harbor, consists of a difference of opinion as to the extent of the territory that American capitalism should consider necessary for the protection of its interests. Whereas the "interventionists" correctly estimate that American capitalism is interested in the whole world, most of the "isolationists" are satisfied with the Western Hemisphere and China.

The "isolationists" are giving way, with the exception of a few die-hards who cling to the old ideology and old phrases.

The passing of the "isolationists" is indicated by the adoption of a resolution at the Republican Party conference held recently at Mackinac providing for the participation of the United States in some form of international machinery to be set up after the war for the purpose of "preserving peace." The Fulbright resolution, similar in character, was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives and one of the same type will probably be adopted in the Senate. The resolutions are vague and can be effectively limited in scope. Nevertheless they constitute a victory for the "interventionists."

* * *

If the economic factor is basic in determining the trend of American capitalism, it does not mean that the sentiments and ideas of both the masses and the ruling group can be disregarded. Anxious to prevent another frightful holocaust, the masses are undoubtedly in favor of some form of international organization. The ruling group is doing its best to assure the masses that such an organization will be able to prevent future wars. We can confidently attribute the huge vote given to the Fulbright resolution to the fact that Congressmen are convinced that their constituents largely favor the creation of "peace" machinery after the war.

Fearing that the capitalist system can not survive another war, the ruling clique is also anxious to establish an organization which will prevent not only war but also revolution. Pressed by the masses who want peace for its own sake, and themselves anxious to have peace to avoid revolution, the capitalists and their representatives are almost unanimously in favor of some form of international machinery to prevent have not nations from interfering with the possessions and wealth of the powerful imperialist nations.

* * *

But even at present, while the war is still raging and the capitalists are trying their best to create an impression that this is really the last war, the rivalries between the two most powerful capitalist nations are coming to the surface and clearly indicate that the forces operating under the capitalist system will not permit peace to endure for long, no matter what kind of machinery is created.

American imperialists have already warned their British allies that after the war the American merchant marine will control its share of shipping. The British capitalists are terribly worried lest air traffic come under complete control of their American brothers. One can be certain that behind the scenes both American and British capitalists are preparing for the inevitable economic struggle that will follow the present conflict.

And aside from the economic rivalries between the capitalist nations the fundamental antagonism between them and the Soviet Union is a constant threat to peace. An agreement may be reached between the capitalist nations and the Soviet Union but it will not do away with that antagonism. An agreement may be reached between the United States and Great Britain but it will not do away with the economic rivalries between American and British imperialists.

As against all the false propaganda of the capitalists and the Stalinists, the class-conscious workers will stress the fundamental proposition that this war will mean the end of wars only if the working masses will take power and control the economy of the world. Failing that, no alliances or international organization will prevent wars.

TROTSKY SAID:

EUROPEAN LABOR MUST BUILD ITS SOCIALIST FEDERATION

The danger of war and a defeat of the Soviet Union is a reality, but the revolution is also a reality. If the revolution does not prevent war, then war will help the revolution. Second births are commonly easier than first. In the new war, it will not be necessary to wait a whole two years and a half for the first insurrection. Once it is begun, moreover, the revolution will not this time stop half way. The fate of the Soviet Union will be decided in the long run not on the maps of the general staffs, but on the map of the class struggle. Only the European proletariat, implacably opposing its bourgeoisie and in the same camp with them the "friends of peace," can protect the Soviet Union from destruction, or from an "allied" stab in the back. Even a military defeat of the Soviet Union would be only a short episode, in case of a victory of the proletariat in other countries. And on the other hand, no military victory can save the inheritance of the October revolution, if imperialism holds out in the rest of the world. . .

It is not under the banner of the **status quo** that the European workers and the colonial peoples can rise against imperialism, and against that war which must break out and overthrow the **status quo** almost as inevitably as a developed infant destroys the **status quo** of pregnancy. The toilers have not the slightest interest in defending existing boundaries, especially in Europe —either under the command of their bourgeoisies, or, still less, in a revolutionary insurrection against them. The decline of Europe is caused by the very fact that it is economically split up among almost forty quasi-national states which, with their customs, passports, money systems, and monstrous armies in defense of national particularism, have become a gigantic obstacle on the road of the economic and cultural development of mankind.

The task of the European proletariat is not the perpetuation of boundaries but, on the contrary, their revolutionary abolition, not the **status quo**, but a socialist United States of Europe! **(From Pages 231-33, "The Revolution Betrayed.")**

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

The Sales Tax

To the already heavy load of taxes, forced bond deductions and increases in the cost of living, the Roosevelt administration proposes to add an additional tax load of ten and one-half billion dollars.

The present "¾-time" Ruml tax law places the bulk of the existing 20 billion dollar tax collection on the shoulders of the working masses. The Roosevelt government, true to its whole policy of fattening industry and starving labor, proposes that nine billion dollars additional be raised by heavier income taxes and excise taxes with the lion's share again borne by the people with incomes of less than $5,000 per year. The Treasury proposals call for only one and one-half billion to be raised by higher corporation, estate and gift taxes. The Roosevelt administration has the nerve to make these proposals in face of corporation super-profits in the last three years of 25 billion dollars after the payment of all taxes, and the accumulation of billions of dollars more in corporation reserves.

The die-hard, reactionary Congressional time-servers of the billion dollar corporations are, like their Wall Street masters, power-drunk. Maybe, they think, they can fleece the people even more thoroughly, even more ruthlessly? Under the leadership of the Chamber of Commerce, the reptile press and the prostitute columnists, they have launched a drive to raise the new taxes by a flat 10 per cent sales tax. Even Roosevelt's labor policemen — such as Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization — are afraid that a sales tax is too raw, that it will arouse the wrath of the masses and provoke revolt. But the crew of poll-taxers, labor-baiters and other servants of Big Business in Congress are ready to go through with the sales tax, if they are reasonably sure that they can get away with it.

Why are they so bold, why are they so unafraid of the people? Don't they know that that master "statesman of labor" Sidney Hillman, with the aid of the Stalinist finks, has just concluded a heroic campaign of speechmaking in order to convert the present anti-labor Congress into a pro-labor Congress? Don't they know up in Congress that the CIO Political Action Committee has just finished its coast-to-coast drive to demonstrate labor's political might? Yes, they know! That is exactly why they feel so cocky. The Congressmen understand only too well the chicken-hearted character of the Hillman-Murray type of leadership.

They know that Hillman's campaign did succeed, for the time being, in heading off the important labor party movements in Michigan, New Jersey and elsewhere. The campaign has demonstrated the treachery, bankruptcy and servility of Hillman, Murray and their type. It has confused the workers and emboldened the capitalists.

The first important measure to come up before Congress, the present tax measure, shows that Congress is still the same old servile and brazen tool of Big Business.

Congress will continue to load the cost of the war on the shoulders of the working masses, until labor breaks with company-unionism on the political field and builds its own independent labor party. Only then can labor move to clean out of the seats of government the whole reactionary Democratic and Republican crew of politicians that serve, not the people, but the billionaire monopolists and bankers.

UAW Convention

The United Automobile Workers is not only the largest but also the most aggressive and militant union in the country. More than in any other union, the UAW rank and file participate in the life of the organization and exercise a certain measure of democratic control over their officials. For these reasons, the annual convention of the auto workers provides the clearest picture of the level of political consciousness, of the wishes and moods of America's mass production workers.

The Buffalo convention proved, as *The Militant* explained all along, that the Reuther-Leonard and Addes-Frankensteen factions espouse virtually the identical pro-Roosevelt "sacrifice" union program. In other words, the faction fight was primarily an unprincipled clique struggle for posts and control. *The majority of the convention delegates recognized this fact by shifting their votes back and forth in such a fashion as to deny sole control of the union, to either faction.*

This eighth UAW convention endorsed a fourth term for Roosevelt and passed again an "unconditional" no-strike pledge. But the delegates approved both steps in a very grudging manner. Roosevelt's name has lost its magic; in contrast to previous years, it evoked no enthusiasm or response during the entire convention. The no-strike pledge was likewise approved in sullen, embittered and grudging fashion.

In the ranks of the union there exists an immense dissatisfaction with the "sacrifice" program. There is an increasing realization that the labor movement is in a blind alley. This feeling was voiced to a certain extent by the convention left wing, represented by delegates like Emil Mazey, president of the Detroit Briggs local and De Lorenzo, president of the east coast Brewster local.

The auto delegates, in their great majority, are seasoned unionists. Their experiences have taught them that there is no half-way house between the present union policy of slavish reliance and dependence on Roosevelt and an out-and-out break with the Roosevelt administration, reassertion of the right to strike, launching of an independent labor party, etc.

The auto unionists sense that such a policy involves far more than just passing a convention resolution. It means breaking with Roosevelt and the whole war machine. It means also breaking with the present treacherous leadership of the unions and launching an independent fight all along the line to win the allegiance of the rank and file of the whole union movement for a new militant labor program.

The auto workers know only too well that their present leaders, Thomas-Reuther-Addes-Frankensteen, will not and cannot lead such a fight. *The auto workers have not yet created such a new leadership. They are not yet ready to burn all the bridges that tie them to the present official union leadership and launch such an independent struggle.*

Those delegates who hoped that the leaders of the Reuther caucus would wage a fight for a militant program even if in a restricted form, were much disappointed. On every decisive question — the Roosevelt fourth term, the no-strike policy, etc. — the Reuther leaders joined with Addes and Frankensteen. In united fashion they supported and fought for the policies which in their totality make up the present official union program of surrender, capitulation and retreat.

The experiences in Buffalo establish conclusively that the Reuther faction is nothing but a power caucus. Its occasional radical declarations are only sucker bait designed to confuse and ensnare the militants.

The auto militants must take these lessons to heart. They must break decisively with the Reuther caucus as well as with the rival Addes clique. Only then can the militants begin the work of building a genuine progressive group, relying on their own resources, their own strength, their own independent program of militant labor action. There is no other road to success. There is no magic short cut.

There does exist the assurance, however, that work along this line will be well received by considerable numbers of the auto rank and file. Only such independent work will assure solid, sure and steady progress in the forging of a new, honest, militant and class conscious leadership which will point the way, help educate the rank and file and at a later stage give leadership in struggle.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Shipyard Workers And 'The Militant'

Editor:

I think that everyone all over the country engaged in **Militant** distribution will be interested in knowing the reaction of the workers in the shipyards after receiving copies of the paper for a period of time.

The workers, feeling the pinch in their pocket books, are beginning to ask all sorts of questions which show a leftward development of their thinking. Inasmuch as the trade union bureaucracy cannot answer their questions because of their alliance with the Roosevelt administration and their blind adherence to the no-strike pledge, the workers are beginning to voice sentiments in line with the views of **The Militant.**

Any discussion with an advanced worker, does not take long to lead to the questions of a "rise in wages to meet the rise in the cost of living," "formation of a labor party," and "get the union officials off the War Labor Board."

P. B.
Jersey City, N. J.

Stalin and Badoglio

Editor:

In Tuesday's **N. Y. Times** I read an account of an interview of U. S. correspondents with Marshal Badoglio, new ally of the Allies. Badoglio who was the fascist butcher in Abyssinia and Mussolini's sidekick says this: "The Allies must help us so that Communism does not stand a chance."

From their past performance we don't expect anything else from Badoglio, the King and their gang. They've been fighting against the workers and their revolution for over twenty years. And Churchill and Roosevelt will help them just as they helped Franco and Darlan.

But here's the pay-off. Not only Roosevelt and Churchill but the Stalin government has approved the deal with Badoglio. Stalin supports Badoglio—and Badoglio calls on his allies to help him fight Communism.

That means that Stalin has joined forces with Badoglio against the revolutionary movement in Italy.

I wonder how the **Daily Worker** will try to cover up this anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary deal between Stalin and Badoglio?

W. F. W.
New York City

Workers' BOOKSHELF

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown, 1943. 325 pages, $3.

The oppression of national and racial minorities ranks as not the least of Hitler's crimes. **In this respect however, American "democratic" capitalism differs not one bit from its fascist brother.** In the United States, as "Brothers Under the Skin" explains, the role of the "Jew" has been thrust upon 17 million colored people. Negroes, Chinese, Filipinos, Mexicans have been singled out as inferior because of race and color and condemned to a ghetto.

Numbering over 12 million, the Negroes bulk as the largest and most important "colored" minority in the United States. For Mr. McWilliams the treatment of the Negro people provides "the acid test of democracy." But neither the Negro masses nor Mr. McWilliams are optimistic about the future. Discussing the economic status of the Negro, Mr. McWilliam says: "Perhaps the most ominous sign on the horizon is the impending collapse of the plantation economy of the deep South. During the past ten years Negroes have been virtually forced out of agriculture. Ways and means must therefore be devised by which Negroes may be absorbed into non-agricultural types of employment."

But the whole point of "Brothers Under the Skin" is that the gains made by Negroes in industry during the war are of a temporary nature unless they are accompanied by a destruction of Jim Crow practices and an extension of civil rights to Negroes. And this hasn't occurred. Though the extreme shortage of labor has forced employers to hire Negroes, discrimination is practiced by chaining the Negro worker to unskilled and low-paying jobs. The Negro, ever mindful of the past, remembers the old saying, "last to be hired first to be fired."

The Negro people, engaged in a struggle for their rights are troubled, Mr. McWilliams points out, by the donothing policy of the government with regard to Jim Crow in the armed forces, industry, and branches of the government itself. They are skeptical concerning the four freedoms of Churchill and Roosevelt while total segregation is permitted in any army supposedly fighting for democracy. In their eyes, Roosevelt has surrendered to the Southern reactionaries on the question of race prejudice. It is a state of affairs they refuse to accept.

But the surrender of Negro rights began, Mr. McWilliams shows, not in 1943 but in 1876 when a victorious Northern capitalist class yielded the Negro's civil liberties to the Southern landlord class as the price of peace. This "deal" laid the basis for future discrimination against all colored minorities in the United States. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in "Brothers Under the Skin" is the one which shows the link between anti-Chinese and anti-Negro agitation. A series of Chinese exclusion laws fostered by Pacific coast politicians and supported by the Southern congressional bloc flowered into national exclusion laws against all Asiatic peoples. **In this fashion the myth of racial "inferiority" of non-white peoples was written into the law of the land. Not just the Negro but the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipino and other colored groups have been impounded in the ghetto.**

Since a majority of the world's population—the colonial peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—belong to the colored races the oppressive treatment of "colored" minorities in the United States and its possessions provides a preview of their status under victorious "democratic" capitalism.

Hawaii illustrates the point. A mixture of colored peoples, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans—300,000 in all—make up the laboring force of the islands' sugar plantations. There is no overt segregation of races on grounds of color. Instead racial and economic discrimination merge into classic colonial form. For all the wealth and privileged positions go to the small clique of whites who own and control the five sugar corporations that dominate the islands' economy. No Hawaiian of the second or third generation can hope to penetrate the barriers of color that surround the professional and business world.

An old proverb says "it takes only a drop of tar to spoil a barrel of honey." What mars the factual excellence of "Brothers under the Skin" is Mr. McWilliams' belief that a government engaged in a war of conquest can and will carry through a program of legislation and action to guarantee the democratic rights of minorities at home. The facts about the government's "do-nothing" policy in "Brothers Under the Skin" prove otherwise. The emancipation of America's oppressed minorities will come from another source. Until the workers took power, Czarist Russia was known as the prison house of nationalities. History dictates the same solution for that prison of colored minorities, the United States.

—Reviewed by David Ransom.

International Notes

Herbert L. Matthews, **N. Y. Times** correspondent, reports the story of the surrender of Naples. "When Badoglio's government announced its armistice 6 P. M. on September 8, the people rose joyously. All that night and all the following day they had the Germans on the run. The Germans were surrendering their arms to Italians. . . Had Naples been properly organized . . . it would have made all the difference. However, there was no anti-fascist organization. . . So the Germans quickly regained control, but they did it with the help of Fascist hierarchs and above all many Fascist Blackshirts. **Those Blackshirts became marked men. . . When those days of reckoning came, everyone of those Blackshirts . . . met death at the hands of the citizens. They were willing to take the Germans alive . . . because after all they were doing only what they had been ordered to do. But when the Italians caught a Blackshirt, he died."**

The Italian workers are wiping the fascists off the surface of the earth. AMG is leaving the fascist officials in office.

* * *

The October 11 UP dispatch reported that "twenty members of the new Fascist Republican militia were found dead of knife wounds in Rome. . . Fascist leaders were said to be planning to evacuate the capital because of fear of public reprisals."

The dispatch further reports that armed Italian guerrilla bands continue to roam the mountain country around Turin and that disturbances continue in Turin and Milan.

* * *

The Yugoslav Partisan army announced on October 13 that the entire Venezia Division of the Italian army has joined its ranks. Gaetano Salvemini, noted authority on Italy, divulged in a recent interview that the Bergamo Division has revolted and joined the Yugoslav Partisans. The division changed its name to the Garibaldi division.

* * *

The British capitalists are worried sick that their dear ally, the U. S. capitalists are getting all set to grab up every bit of wealth in the world that isn't nailed down or to hot to carry. This deathly fear of declining British capitalism was brought to a fever pitch by the arrogant and aggressive behavior of America's "five travelling Senators."

The **Economist,** organ of the British Big-Business writes "there are signs of a return to the big stick and the ideology of McKinley. . . The prospects of any dramatic and immediate reversal of American economic policy are poor at the moment—poorer perhaps than they have ever been." The **Economist** aptly sums up the trend of U. S. Capitalism as an "explosion of economic nationalism."

Apparently much vaunted American "isolationism" is nothing but a new name for old fashioned imperialism. The British capitalists are by no means opposed to imperialism. They just don't like the kind where the Yankee capitalists are in the drivers seat.

* * *

Cairo is fast becoming the central embarkation point for all decrepit monarchs of Eastern Europe, who hated and despised by their own people are nevertheless befriended and supported by Roosevelt and Churchill. There is the arch reactionary King Peter of Yugoslavia. The masses don't want any part of him, but Roosevelt and Churchill are grooming him as the head of the future Quisling government in that country.

In Cairo, resides also King George of Greece who sanctioned the bloody Metaxas dictatorship. There isn't a single group in Greece representing the masses that supports the monarchy. But British bayonets put George on the Greek throne once before and Churchill is ready to use British bayonets to put King George on the Greek throne again.

Freedom of the Press in Argentina and the U.S.A.

Last week President Roosevelt sharply assailed the Argentine government for suspending the Jewish press. Freedom of the press is an extremely precious democratic right and **The Militant** supports the Jewish minority in Argentina in the struggle to protect that right.

Since Roosevelt has suddenly become such a valiant defender of freedom of the press, he should now instruct his own Attorney General and Postmaster General to restore the second class mailing rights which were taken away from The Militant **on March 7, 1943.**

Why did the Roosevelt administration deprive **The Militant** of its second class mailing rights? Because, as specifically stated at the Postoffice hearings, **The Militant** prints the truth about the role of Big Business in the war; because it criticizes the domestic and foreign policies of the administration; because it urges the workers to defend their living standards and their rights; because it condemns Darlan deals; because it advocates a Workers' and Farmers' Government and the socialist program as the only solution for the problems of war, fascism, unemployment and racial discrimination.

Many labor and liberal papers and even many influential capitalist papers have condemned this suppression of The Militant's **mailing rights — the first major blow against the free labor press during this war.**

On July 6 of this year, **The Militant's** attorneys reapplied for the restoration of its second class mailing rights. The Postmaster General has not yet taken any action upon the reapplication.

According to the **N. Y. Times,** the Argentine government lifted its ban against the Jewish press within a few days. Like the Argentine dictatorship, the Roosevelt administration does not hesitate to curtail freedom of the press. But Roosevelt surely takes longer to restore it.

How Monopolists Conspire to Rob and Cheat People

Testifying before a Senate subcommittee last week, Assistant U. S. Attorney General Berge revealed how the monopolists literally kick the consuming public in the teeth. **"It may be stated almost as a law of their nature that cartels restrict the fullest development of new products and attempt to place rigid handicaps on output," said Berge.**

As one of "the shocking extremes to which monopolists will even consider going," Berge cited the exchange of correspondence among "a monopolist clique," including the du Pont Company, Rohn & Haas of Philadelphia, and the Vernon-Benshoff Company, which controlled the production of the plastic, methyl methacrylate. This plastic, suitable both for industrial and dental uses, is employed in making dental plates.

The monopolists charged their fellow-industrialists 85 cents a pound for this plastic while soaking dentists $45 per pound! When dentists discovered what was happening, they naturally began to buy from industrial consumers.

To stop this undermining of their highwayman's price, the Vernon-Benshoff Company wrote on March 15, 1940 to their monopolist colleagues proposing that they add some ingredient to the plastic molding powder which would disqualify it for use under the Pure Food and Drug Law. Rohn & Haas replied that "they would turn their research department to work" on this task of adulteration right away.

This is only one small example of the million ways in which Big Business robs and cheats the people. The only permanent protection against these practices is to expropriate these profit-greedy monopolies and operate them under worker's control.

Company Keeps Profits On Sale of Defective Parts

Add the name of the National Bronze and Aluminum Co. of Cleveland to the long list of plants which have been selling defective war material to the government. For over two years this company has been making super-chargers and other parts for airplane engines.

Finding that the cost of scrapping defective castings rejected by the government cut too deeply into their overstuffed purses, these "patriots" conspired to weld cracks and seams, rub off the identification numbers and pass off the defective parts as new. They even built a secret welding room with an alarm system to warn the welders when government inspectors arrived.

The company and seven top officials were indicted by the government on nine counts, including fraud and sabotage. The company tried to pass the buck by firing the top officials involved, and the president, who was among those fired, tried to blame his subordinates. The company and four officials were found not guilty while three officials were convicted by jury trial. **Three men go to jail, the company is absolved, and the profits on 50 to 60 million dollars worth of castings sold in 1942 stay with the stockholders.**

The employees of this company have not even received the raises due them under the Little Steel formula. In its efforts to pile up profits, **the company doles out piddling raises to a few men and establishes new time rates and speedups for the rest.**

For example, the pay of metal pourers, who do back-breaking work in terrific heat, is only **78 cents** per hour. **Speedup, cutting the size of crews, elimination of wash-up time, fake bonus schemes, etc., have already led to several walkouts of the men.**

The "patriotism" of the bosses boils down to their insatiable greed for profits, whether obtained by the speedup and low pay, or by defrauding the government with defective parts.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party